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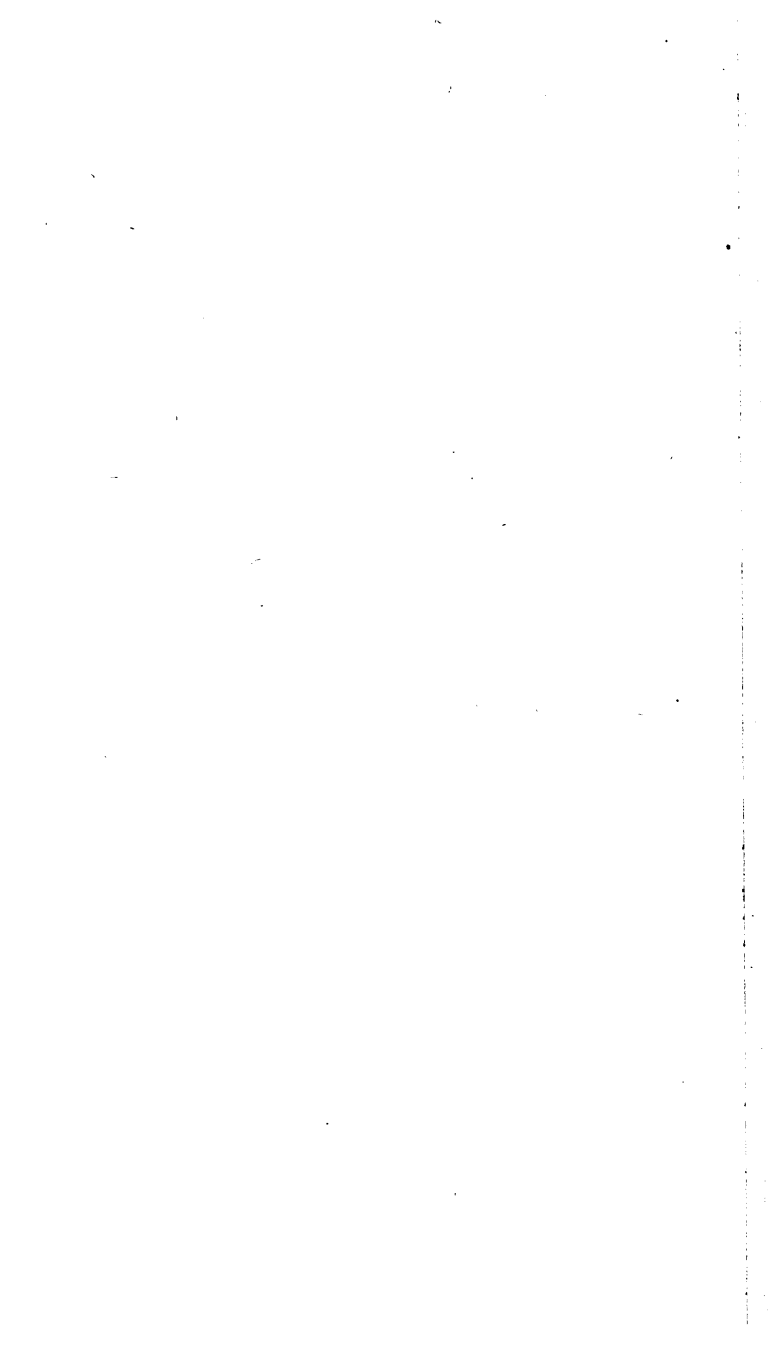


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Three Interesting TRACTS.

By *JOHN WILKES*, Esq;

VIZ.

I. OBSERVATIONS ON THE PAPERS
RELATIVE TO THE RUPTURE
WITH SPAIN.

II. A LETTER TO THE ELECTORS
OF AYLESBURY.

III. A LETTER TO HIS GRACE THE
DUKE OF GRAFTON.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-
House, in Piccadilly.

MDCCLXVII.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE PAPERS
RELATIVE TO THE
RVPTVRE WITH SPAIN,

LAI'D BEFORE BOTH HOVSSES OF
PARLIAMENT, ON FRIDAY THE
TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF JA-
NVARY, 1762, BY HIS MA-
JESTY'S COMMAND.

IN A LETTER FROM A MEMBER OF
PARLIAMENT, TO A FRIEND IN
THE COVNTY.

By *JOHN WILKES*, Esq;

THE THIRD EDITION.

Quis feræ
Bellum curet Iberiæ! HOR.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite *Burlington-*
House, Piccadilly. M DCC LXVII.

N. B. All the References in this Pamphlet are made to the Quarto Edition of the P A P E R S, &c. delivered to the Members of both Houses of Parliament.

“ After the omnipotence of lord
“ Bute in 1761 had forced Mr. Pitt
“ to retire from his Majesty’s Coun-
“ cils, and the cause was declared
“ by himself to be our conduct rela-
“ tive to Spain, I had the happiness
“ of setting that affair in so clear and
“ advantageous a light, that he ex-
“ pressed the most entire satisfaction,
“ and particular obligations to my
“ friendship.” See *Mr. Wilkes’s Letter to the Duke of Grafton.*

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
PAPERS
RELATIVE TO THE
RUPTURE WITH SPAIN.

DEAR SIR,

March 9, 1762.

I Much regret that it is not yet in my Power fully to gratify the Curiosity you express of seeing *all the Papers relative to the Rupture with Spain*. The Subject is so very interesting, that I am not surprized at your Impatience. My Concern is, that so much is withheld from the Public, and that a Person, uninformed as I am, cannot pretend with Clearness to unravel the Thread of a Negociation, de-

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signedly

signedly kept intricate and embarrassed. I fear you will find some Things rather obscure; but I will endeavour to pour all the Light I can on the Subject, and to dissipate every Cloud of Obscurity which is meant to cover it. Had the Public been gratified with a Sight of the Memorials and Papers relating to the Demand of Liberty to the *Spanish* Nation to fish on the Banks of *Newfoundland* (a *Matter held sacred**), and to the other Claims,

* You will again on this Occasion let M. Wall clearly understand, That this is a *Matter held sacred*; and that no Concession on the Part of his Majesty, so destructive to this true and capital Interest of Great Britain, will be yielded to Spain, however abetted and supported. *Mr. Pitt's Letter*, p. 3. With regard to the *Newfoundland Fishery*, M. Wall urged, What had principally given Offence here as to that Article, was my being so frequently ordered to declare, and the *Conde de Fuentes* having been as often told, that England would never bear of that inadmissible Pretension. *Lord Bristol's Letter to the Earl of Egremont*, Dec. 6, 1761, p. 53.

The

Claims, equally unjust, made by the Count *de Fuentes*, which were moved for in the House of Commons on the 11th of *December* last, we might, with

The Declaration of the Count *de Fuentes*, that Mr. *Pitt*'s ordinary and last Answer was, "That he would not relax in *any thing*, till the Tower of *London* was taken Sword in Hand," p. 45. is undoubtedly a gross Misrepresentation. *That Expression* must have been confined to the Spanish Claim of *fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland*; for it is apparent from these *Papers*, than Mr. *Pitt* was ready to make greater Concessions to preserve the Friendship of *Spain*, than any former Minister had ventured to offer; witness the Paragraph in Lord *Bristol*'s Letter of *August 31*, p. 8. *Lastly, concerning the Disputes about the Coast of Honduras, I could add nothing to the repeated Declarations I had made in the King's Name, of the Satisfaction with which his Majesty would receive any just Overture from Spain (upon Condition that France was not to be the Channel of that Conveyance) for terminating amicably, and to mutual Satisfaction; every reasonable Complaint on this Matter, by proposing some equitable Regulation for securing to us the long-enjoyed Privilege of cutting Logwood (an Indulgence confirmed by Treaty, and of*

with a tolerable Degree of Accuracy, have known something more of the Merits of the present Quarrel with *Spain*. Not one of these appears, nor have we any Paper or Memorial from *Spain* (not even that delivered to Lord *Bristol* in *January* last*), nor any Answer of the Court of *England*, since the Accession of his present Catholic Majesty (important as that Period must naturally seem to be) to the last Autumn. In vain have I wished for the famous Memorial which the Court of *Spain* returned as inadmissible, that I might have com-

course authorized in the most sacred Manner); nor could I give stronger Assurances than the past, of his Majesty's steady Purpose to cause all Establishments on the Logwood Coasts, contrary to the Territorial Jurisdiction of Spain, to be removed.

* Yet when the *File* of General *Wall's* enclosed Paper is compared with that which was given to me last *January*, I hope it will appear there is less Peevishness at present here, than what was so strongly exhibited some Months ago, p. 11.

compared it with M. *de Buffy's*; since the late Minister publicly declared *that* was the precedent he followed with respect to the Memorial of *Spanish Affairs* given in by *France*. It is undoubtedly of much Consequence to know both the *Matter and Expressions* of that Memorial returned by *Spain*, as it might probably relate to one of the three Points in Negotiation, *Prizes, Logwood, or the Fishery*. In the present Collection (which was laid before both Houses of Parliament on the 29th of *January*, but not Printed and delivered to the Members till the 12th of *Februry*), there is not a Line previous to the Memorial delivered to Mr. Secretary *Pitt*, by M. *de Buffy*, *July 23, 1761*; nor is there any Intelligence from *Paris*, where the *Family Compact* of the House of *Bourbon* was Negotiated and signed by *Grimaldi*, and where, it is said, the Measures to be taken
against

against *Portugal* were concerted. An EXTRACT of one Letter only of Mr. *Pitt*'s is inserted, which is dated *July* 28, the Answer to which is received *September* 11. Not a Syllable after that Period from this Court to Lord *Bristol*, till the 28th of *October*, when Lord *Egremont* declares he opens his *Correspondence*, p. 20*. It is indeed very astonishing, and gives no great Idea of the Vigilance or Attention of Administration, that while Affairs were so critical between the two Nations, no Directions for the Conduct

* How can this be the Truth, when Lord *Bristol* writes, *November* 16, 1761. *The Messenger Ardouin, delivered to me on the 10th Instant, at the Escurial, the Honour of your Lordship's Dispatches of the 28th past, with the several Enclosures therein referred to; and by the last Post I RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF THE 20th OF THE SAME MONTH, in which your Lordship informed me, that all mine to the 21st of September, had been regularly laid before his Majesty,* p. 36. I suppose the Public could not be trusted with all that Letter.

duct of Lord *Bristol* were sent to *Madrid* during so long a Period *. But can it be imagined that so acute, so well-informed a Minister as Mr. *Stanley* certainly was, should not transmit from *Paris* any intelligence of that most alarming Treaty, which was negotiating all the Summer at *Paris*? It appears by the Accounts published by the *French* Court, that the *Family Compact* was signed at *Versailles* the 15th of *August*, and ratified the 8th of *September*. LORD TEMPLE, in a great assembly, did declare that Intelligence of the highest Moment relative to these Matters was transmitted to this Court before the Advice in Writing, dated the 18th of *September*, which occasioned certain
 Refig-

* How is this to be reconciled to the Declaration of Lord *Egremont*, Mr. *Pitt*'s Successor, that the New Ministry will avoid every possible Imputation of Indecision or Indolence, which ignorant Prejudice might suggest? p. 23.

Resignations. Nothing of this kind is published in the *Papers relative to the Rupture with Spain*, though undoubtedly *Intelligence* constitutes a most material Part of those *Papers*. If we have not the Satisfaction of judging for ourselves from the *Whole* of a Case, I will do the late Minister the Justice to say, that it cannot be imputed to him. He pressed with honest Zeal the laying before the Public every Paper relative to the *for Years Negotiation** with *Spain*, that the Justice and Candour of the Crown of *England* on the one hand, and the Chicanery, Insolence, and Perfidy of *Spain* on the other, might be apparent to all the World: But this was refused, for

* I should be particularly curious, for certain Reasons, to see in what Manner, and to what Extent, the *Spanish Court had been flattered by that of London, with an impartial Discussion of their Disputes, from the Year 1754, before Mr. Pitt accepted the Seals, p. 53.*

had

had it been granted, all the atrocious Calumnies so industriously circulated, of his Aversion to Peace, and his Endeavours to perpetuate and encrease the War, had been laid open to Mankind, and the Authors of them held in just Abhorrence. I own the Appeal to so much written Evidence, spoke to me the strongest Language of Conscious Integrity, and I was charmed with an Example, which I am sure Mr. *Pitt* did not draw from any of his Predecessors in this Country.—They have ever sought, like Mr. *Pitt's* Successors, to cover and conceal, or at least to perplex; he wishes to lay open and reveal to the unerring Public, both the motives and Actions of every Part of his Administration.—A Retrospect carries no Terrors but to the Guilty—to an upright Minister it must give the truest Satisfaction—to the Public that

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Conviction it has in many Cases a Right to expect.

- I was not a little surpris'd, and I own greatly concern'd at the Alarm you mention, spread every where in your Parts, of the melancholy and ruined State of our Country, and the necessity we were under of accepting almost any Peace. *The French, Lord Bristol says, have never discontinued assuring the Spaniards of our being exhausted by the present long and expensive war, p. 29:* and they may add that we have those among us (but, happily for this Nation, they are few, and their Credit but small) who repine at our Successes, and declare they *weep over our Victories*. This is the true Picture of that most malignant and infernal Fiend, Envy, so well described by Ovid;

Vixque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit.

And

And a little before he mentions what
rankled at the Heart ;

*Sed videt ingratos, intabescitque videndo
Successus hominis.*

I doubt not these Men do very sincerely lament the Successes even of their own Country ; for I well remember the favourite Language they held a few Years ago, “ Give the
“ new Minister the Reins—he is
“ equally impracticable as impetuous
“ ——in a very short Time he must
“ annihilate his present Credit with
“ the Public, from the Failure of
“ every Scheme he adopts.” Now Heaven has given such glorious Success to upright Intentions, and well-digested * Plans, while the rest of
their

* In Europe, Cherbourg, and Belle-Isle ; in Asia, Pondicherry ; in Africa, Senegal, and Goree ; in America, Beau Sejour, Louisbourg, Fort du Quesne, now Pittsburg, Guadalupe, &c. Niagara, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Quebec, Montreal, Dominico, and, to crown the whole, we may hope

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their Countrymen are congratulating each other on all our noble Conquests and real Acquisitions of Strength, these Men, as well as our declared Enemies, are found in Sorrow and Tears. How preposterous is such a Conduct? Yet did not some of these very Men execrate those as Traitors to their Country, who were not fired with Rapture at the Victory of *Culloden*? A Victory as justly dear to every Friend of Liberty as any our Annals can boast.—

But let us on the other hand exult, and rejoice to see how greatly this Country now figures in the unprejudiced Judgment of Foreigners, even of our Enemies. The Prime Minister of *Spain* tells Lord *Bristol*, *That the Court of London was in the most flourishing and most exalted Situation*

Martinico. Let me add the Annihilation of the *French Marine and Commerce*. All during Mr. *Pitt's Ministry*.

it had ever known, occasioned by the greatest Series of Prosperities that any single Nation had ever met with, p. 10.

Can we wonder after this, that so much Abuse, such gross Scurrility, on Mr. Pitt; appears in *Fuentes's Papers*? Is it not the highest Panegyric? I am persuaded, had the *Direction* of the *British* Counsels been suffered to continue in the same Hands, the Name of *Pitt* had soon been as much dreaded at *Madrid* as it is at *Paris*, or as it is dear to his grateful Countrymen. I speak with the honest Warmth and Pride of an *Englishman*, who really feels with his Sovereign *the great and important Services* * of Mr. Pitt, and glories in seeing his Country recovered from the most abject State of Despair to such a Pitch of Grandeur and Importance, as to hold the first Rank among the Powers of *Europe*.

* Vide *London Gazette* of Oct. 10, 1761.

The other Report you mention, that the late Minister *courted a War with Spain*, will receive as full a Confutation from these Papers. I shall, from among many, produce only two Passages, but too express to admit the least Shadow of a Doubt. The first is from the Conclusion of the EXTRACT of the only Letter we have of Mr. Pitt's in this garbled Collection. After the insolent Memorial of *France* relative to *Spain* was delivered there by M. de Buffi, *little short of a Declaration of a War in Reversion, and that not at a Distance*, Mr. Pitt writes to Lord Bristol, *In case, upon entering into Remonstrance on this Affair, you shall perceive a Disposition in M. Wall to explain away and disavow the Authorization of Spain to this offensive Transaction of France, AND TO COME TO CATEGORICAL AND SATISFACTORY DECLARATIONS RELATIVELY TO THE FINAL INTENTIONS OF SPAIN, your*
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Excellency will, with Readiness and your usual Address, adapt yourself to so desirable a Circumstance, and will open to the Court of Madrid as handsome a Retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the Spanish Minister that they SINCERELY wish to find one, and to remove, by an EFFECTUAL SATISFACTION, the unfavourable Impressions which this Memorial of France has justly and unavoidably made on the Mind of his Majesty, p. 3, 4. Is this the Language of a Minister who courts a War? Is it not the Reverse? Does he not honestly point out the Means of avoiding a War, yet with the Dignity and Spirit becoming a great Power, which did not tremble at the haughty Menaces of the Spaniard?

The other Passage contains the Testimony of the Earl of Egremont: *M. Wall must himself know that there has been a particular Delicacy observed, in concerting our Plans for military Opera-*

tions, to avoid carrying Hostilities towards Objects, which might give the least Jealousy or Umbrage to the Court of Spain; and therefore his Majesty can only consider such unjust Suggestions and groundless Suspicions, as destitute of Probability as of Proof, as a mere Pretext, in case that, contrary to all good Faith, and the most solemn repeated Professions of friendly Intentions, the Court of Spain should have meditated or resolved on Hostilities against England, p. 31 *.

I think it appears to demonstration, even from these Papers, that before the first Overtures of France for the particular Peace with England, Spain had resolved, at a proper Time, to take an efficient and openly hostile Part against us. *M. de Buffy*, in the Memorial relative to Spain, so early as July 23,

* *Mr. Wall owned, how cautious we had been to avoid attacking those Possessions belonging to our Enemies, which had any Connection with the Spanish Territory. Lord Bristol's Letter, p. 63.*

talks

talks of *the Engagements*, which the one and the other Court may have taken prior to their Reconciliation, p. 4. Mr. Pitt's Letter of July 28, declares, *The Duke de Choiseul avows the Engagements with Spain, concerning our Disputes with that Crown, to have been taken before the FIRST OVERTURES of France for the particular Peace with England.* The first Overtures were dated the 26th of March, 1761*. Lord Bristol, Aug. 31, gives an Account of the Conversation he had with General Wall, in which M. Wall declared, that M. Buffy's Memorial was Verbatim what had been sent by Order of the Catholic King to Versailles, p. 6. † In the same

* Vide *Memoire Historique*, &c. published by the Court of France.

† In the Paper of the 28th of August, Spain with her usual Perfidy repeated in Answer, that she only consented that France should take this Step, p. 15. This is of a Piece with her Veracity, when she says, *From a fresh Proof of his pacific Spirit,*

same Letter, p. 11. *The strong Avowal of a most intimate Cordiality between Spain and France contained in this last Production of the Spanish Secretary of State has hurt me.* This Production was the famous Memorial of the 28th of August, which (with Lord Bristol's Letter of the 31st, and an Enclosure) was the last Paper Mr. Pitt ever received from the Court of Spain; as appears from the Date of his Resignation, October 5. *The Memorial which M. de Buffy presented to Mr. Pitt, is a* Step,

Spirit, the King of Spain wrote to the King of France, his Cousin, that if the Union of Interest, in any manner retarded the Peace with England, he consented to separate himself from it, not to put any Obstacle to so great a Happiness, p. 46. It is notorious in France, that every Obstacle possible was put to it by the Spanish Minister, in Conjunction with the Imperial, at Paris, and in reality Spain only wished not to be REPUTED an Impediment to the Conclusion of a Peace between England and France, p. 55. Another Proof of her Veracity may be seen in p. 44. of this Pamphlet.

Step, which his Catholic Majesty will not deny has been taken with his full Consent, Approbation, and Pleasure. Paper delivered to the Earl of Bristol, p. 13. which next holds out *mutual Assistance*; as their *Union, Friendship, and Relationship* require: then proceeds to a menacing Parallel, It being grounded upon this, that if England saw that France attacked the Dominions of Spain, particularly in America, she would run immediately to her Defence for her own Convenience, as well as because she had, equally with France, guarantied them: and concludes with a Simile of obliging Delicacy betwixt crowned Heads, with regard to our Establishment on the Logwood Coast. *Hard Proceedings* certainly, for one to confess that he is gone into the House of another, to take away his Jewels, and to say, "I will go out again, but first you shall engage to give me what I went to take." So much

much for becoming Apologies * ! p. 16. There is the greatest Harmony between the two Courts (France and Spain), p. 14. Particularly since the King (of Spain) sent your Excellency (the Conde de Fuentes) to that Court (of London), proving the incontestible Grounds of our Complaints and just Cares, and repeating that without satisfying them, it is impossible to fix the good Correspondence of the two Monarchies, nor the Friendship of the two Monarchs, p. 59. The Memorial itself presented by M. de Buffy, July 23, which was Verbatim sent from Spain, threatens a new War in Europe and America, if the Differences of Spain with England are not adjusted, of which, the French King says, he shall be obliged to partake, p. 4. And

* This Paper is stiled by Spain, a Memorial, p. 40, and contains those becoming Apologies, on the Part of the Catholic Court, mentioned in the English Declaration of War. Apologies equally becoming and convincing !

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in p. 39, General Wall says, *What other Discussion of the Matter of our Disputes, than what has been agitated, during so long a Negotiation; what other Expedients can be found to save the Honour and Dignity of the two Kings, that have not been proposed and exhausted in a Contest of six Years?* And again, p. 40. *A Negotiation so strongly discussed, that it has been reduced during your Embassy (Count de Fuentes's) to the last Yes, or to the last No.* In p. 60. *What greater Discussion, upon the Points of our Disputes, can be made, than that which has been in so long a Negotiation? What Expedients can be fallen upon now to save the Honour of the two Kings, which in Arguments and Disputes of six Years have not occurred?* Lord Bristol, Nov. 2, writes, *I have LONG observed the Jealousy of Spain at the British Conquests **, and am now convinced, that the

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* It is important to know in what Terms,
and

*Consciousness of this Country's Naval Inferiority has occasioned the * SOOTHING DECLARATIONS, so repeatedly made, of a Desire to maintain Harmony and Friendship with England, p. 29.*

I be-

and at what Time, Spain first manifested this Jealousy; as also in what Terms, and at what Time, she renewed her *stale and inadmissible Claim to the Fishery*, which, M. Wall says, all Lord Bristol's *Instructions* had run to declare their Claim to be, p. 27.

* In the *London Gazette* of Saturday, October 10, 1761, which first announced Mr. Pitt's Resignation, (the Notice of which was purposely omitted the preceding Tuesday, for Reasons I will not now enter into) is an Article dated *Madrid, September 4*, *A Report having been lately spread here, upon the Arrival of the last Letters from France, as if there was Reason to apprehend an immediate Rupture between our Court and that of Great Britain; we understand, that the Spanish Ministers, in a Conversation which they had lately with the Earl of Bristol, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Britannic Majesty, expressed their Concern thereat; and declared very explicitly to his Excellency, that ON THE PART OF THEIR COURT, THERE WAS*

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I believe I may even from these Premises take it as proved beyond Contradiction, that *Spain* had come to a final Resolution, and only waited for some

NOT THE LEAST GROUND FOR ANY SUCH APPREHENSIONS, AS THE CATHOLIC KING HAD, AT NO TIME, BEEN MORE INTENT UPON CULTIVATING A GOOD CORRESPONDENCE WITH ENGLAND, THAN IN THE PRESENT CONJUNCTURE.

General *Wall*, in relation to this, declares, p. 38. *I do not remember any thing, at this time, more particular, than on an infinite Number of other Occasions; neither do I myself comprehend the Motive for heightning this.* And again, p. 59. *I do not remember having made it then in a more particular manner than at many other times, neither do I comprehend the Motives for their making such a Point of it.* The motives for the heightning and making such a Point of it, are well understood at *London*, tho' not at *Madrid*. Mr. *Pitt* does not seem to have been the Dupe of these soothing Declarations, which were only the same Lord *Bristol* had just before given from M. *Wall*, in his Letter of the 31st of *August*. *His Catholic Majesty's Disposition and Professions had invariably been the same, and*

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were

some favourable Events to throw off the Mask of Deceit and Treachery. The Denouement quickly followed, tho' probably rather sooner than *Spain* herself intended. Lord *Bristol* explains the true Reasons. In his Letter of *Sept. 21*, which was received here *Oct. 16*, he says, *A Messenger arrived at St. Ildephonso last Week, with the News of the safe Arrival of the Flota in the Bay of Cadiz*, p. 17. In the Letter of *Nov. 2*. *Two Ships have lately arrived at Cadiz, with very extraordinary rich Cargoes from the West-Indies*; SO THAT ALL THE WEALTH THAT WAS EXPECTED FROM SPANISH AMERICA IS NOW SAFE IN OLD SPAIN, p. 29. And again, p. 35. *Eleven large Ships of the Line, now*

were ever meant to cement and cultivate the Friendship so happily subsisting between our two Courts, p. 11. Is it possible to think the Administration was deceived? or did they mean to deceive the Public?

lying

lying at Ferrol, are rigged, manned, and ready to put to Sea at a short Warning, together with two Frigates, one of which is bound to the South Seas, with Cannon-ball, Powder, and many other Implements of War. By Advices from Barcelona, I hear that two of the Catholic King's Ships of War sailed from thence the End of last Month, with two large Ships under their Convoy, loaded with 3500 Barrels of Gunpowder, 1500 Bomb-bells, 500 Chests of Arms, and a considerable Quantity of Cannon-balls of different Dimensions, which Cargo, it is imagined, is destined for the Spanish West Indies. Many more warlike Stores are ready to be shipped from Catalonia. Five Battalions of different Regiments of Infantry, and two Squadrons of Dragoons, are at Cadiz, waiting their final Orders to embark for America. This Corps makes in all about 3,600 Men, p. 35. Lord Egremont says, And his Majesty having after-

wards, (that is, between the 31st of *August*, and the 28th of *October*) received Intelligence, scarce admitting a Doubt, of Troops marching, and of military Preparations making in all the Ports of Spain, judged that his DIGNITY, as well as his Prudence, required him to order his Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, by a Dispatch dated the 28th of *October*, to demand, &c. p. 48.

General *Wall*, thus prepared, at last comes out of his Intrenchments ; for Spain no longer found her Account in *dissembling*. She had already taken her Part, and the old Traffick of Words and soothing Declarations was almost at an End. On * *November 2*, (eight † Days

* This Letter cannot be too much attended to, as it stands immediately connected with the *Spanish* Paper or Memorial of the 28th of *August*, is explanatory of the real Purport of it, and evidently lays the Foundation of the Rupture, which the new Ministry have made with Spain.

† The Messenger Ardouin delivered to me on the
10th

Days before Lord *Bristol* received the very first * *Dispatches* from the new Ministry in *England*.) His Lordship writes Word of the *surprizing Change in General Wall's Discourse*, and an *unlooked-for Alteration of Sentiments*, and complains of the *haughty Language* now held by this Court. M. *Wall* declares the *Conduct of England unwarrantable*, for his *Catholic Majesty* never could obtain an *Answer to any Memorial or Paper*—that we were intoxicated with our *Successes*—and that it was evident all we aimed at was, *first to ruin the French Power*, in order more easily to crush *Spain*, to drive all the *Subjects of the Christian King*, not only from their *Island-Colonies in the new World*, but also to destroy
C 3 thei,

10th *Instant*, at the *Escorial*, the Honour of your Lordship's *Dispatches of the 28th past*, p. 36.

* The new Ministry never received any Answer to the Matter of these first *Dispatches* of the 28th of *October*, till the 24th of *December*, a Fortnight after the Rupture. Lord *Bristol's Letter*, *December 11*, p. 41.

their several Forts and Settlements upon the Continent of North-America, to have an easier Task in seizing on all the Spanish Dominions in those Parts, thereby to satisfy the utmost of our Ambition, and to gratify our unbounded Thirst of Conquest; and afterwards, that he would himself be the Man to advise the King of Spain, since his Dominions were to be overwhelmed, at least to have them seized with Arms in his Subjects Hands, and not to continue the passive Victim he had hitherto appeared to be in the Eyes of the World, p. 26. Now what new Event, on the Part of England, since the Resignations, had happened to give Occasion to such a furious, futile, and menacing Declamation? Lord Bristol writes indeed, p. 64. *What had occasioned the great Fermentation during that Period at this Court, the Effects of which, I felt from General Wall's animated Discourse at the Escorial, was the Notice having, about that Time, reached the Catholic*

atholic King, that the Change which had happened in the English Administration, was relative to Measures proposed to be taken against this Country: But surely, almost in Lord Egremont's own Words, p. 32, used by Lord Bristol himself to General Wall, the Notoriety there was that every Thing in the Royal Councils, which could tend towards the Interruption of a friendly Intelligence between our Courts (which his Majesty was so solicitous to maintain) had also been avoided, p. 62, with the consequential Resignations, must have produced in sound Argument a directly contrary Effect; whereas the Notice sent by his Lordship of the Spanish Preparations, and his other Reasonings, account very fully for the General's Animation at that Time.

I think the Question then is reduced to this short Point, Does not the War with Spain, even in September, appear to have been unavoidable? Most evidently

evidently so, from all the Proofs contained in the foregoing Pages, and even from what is given us of Lord *Bristol's* Letters, in particular that of *August 31*, with the Memorial inclosed, which was received here *September 11*, and was, to be sure, no small Part of the Ground, on which Lord *Temple's* and Mr. *Pitt's* written Advice of *September 18*, to recal Lord *Bristol*, was founded. Every Practice of the most civilized States, every Formality prescribed by the Law of Nations, every Proceeding which the most scrupulous Rules of good Faith, could require, might have been observed, and the noblest Opportunity of expeditiously and gloriously terminating both a *French* and a *Spanish* War been seized, which is now irrecoverably lost. The firmest Nerves of *Spain*, and with them the last Hopes of *France*, might soon have been withered, and the *British* Empire have received

ceived greater, and more important, Acquisitions, than any it yet can boast from the unparalleled, and dazzling Successes, even of this glorious War.

Whoever considers the situation of *Spain* (unprepared as she was at the time the written Advice was given *) with respect to her Ports, her Ships of War in those Ports, her Colonies, her Commerce, her own as well as the Riches

* All Advices concur in proving, that the State of *Spain* was at that Time much the same as at the breaking out of the War in 1739. *The City of Manila might be well supposed to have been in the same defenceless Condition with all the other Spanish Settlements, just at the breaking out of the War : That is to say, their Fortifications neglected, and in many Places decayed ; their Cannon dismounted, or useless, by the mouldring of their Carriages ; their Magazines, whether of military Stores or Provision, all empty ; their Garrisons unpaid, and consequently thin, ill-affected, and dispirited ; and the Royal Chests in Peru, whence alone all these Disorders could receive their Redress, drained to the very Bottom. Anson's Voyage, Quarto Edition of 1748, p. 3.*

of

of *France* on board her Ships, can never sufficiently lament the Loss of an autumnal Campaign *. If we add that the Fleet of *England* was at no Time so formidable, her Seamen never so full of Spirit, and flushed with repeated Victories, in *Europe* only upwards of 140. Ships of War, in the other Parts of the World above 100 more, we must sink in Amazement at our Supineness and Neglect of so critical a Period, after so long Tameness under Injuries. I will add *long Tameness under Injuries*; for I think the Conduct of *Spain*, even during the six Years Negotiation, was so grossly partial to our professed Enemies, as would have justified any overt Acts on the Side of *England*, from every Principle of Justice; but Motives of Moderation and Policy restrained us. The

* Part of the Preparations since made both in *Europe* and *America*, may be seen from Lord *Bristol's* Testimony, p. 23, of this Pamphlet.

Affair of the *Antigallican* was alone of such Magnitude, as to have called for Reprisals against a Court, which avowed such gross Partiality and Injustice, and committed such repeated Acts of the highest Indignity. Not the least Satisfaction was ever offered, though often demanded. On the contrary, it was followed by many flagrant Acts of notorious Violence. It is a known Fact, that both the Law of Nations, and the established Customs of all Maritime States, have been violated by *Spain* in every one of her Ports, from a declared Partiality to the *French*. They were treated almost as natural-born *Spaniards*, tho' the *Family Compact* did not at that Time subsist, and the *English* as Enemies, tho' called Friends, to whom the King of *Spain* was ever declaring much Cordiality and Regard.

Ruinous indeed it may prove for this Country, that the Administration,

tion, which for so many Years has continued UNANIMOUS in carrying on the War in *Germany*, UNANIMOUS likewise in rejecting the Terms of Peace offered by *France*, should have differed in Opinion (if indeed they did so) with regard to the glaring Duplicity, and hostile Intentions, of the Court of *Spain*! It required alas! no great Scope of Judgment, nor any deep Sagacity, to discover the *real Views*, p. 24. of *Spain*, and that the War with that Power was inevitable. A Truth which most plainly appears from the very Papers published to conceal it. The only Question most evidently was, whether we should enter into it with every Advantage on our Side, or from Weakness, Indecision, or a delusive Hope at best, give to our determined Enemy that Time to prepare, which it was notorious she wanted, lose the Season for Action, and sacrifice to the Imbecility of a few
more

more last Words three most important Months, at the End of which we find ourselves reduced to the Necessity of breaking with *Spain*, exactly as we ought to have done so long before. Whoever can now pride himself in the *procrastinating Advice* he gave to his Sovereign, may he enjoy in full Lustre *that eminent Glory of his Life* ! If such are the *Glories*, what must the *Disgraces* be ! I mean not to draw any uncandid Picture of the present Administration : I am sorry I must say, that we have had too much Experience of one Part of them, and too little of the other, to be very sanguine. Two S——s of S——e, in these dangerous Times, become Ministers by Inspiration ! We have as little Experience of them, as they have of Business. In no Department of the State, nor in Parliament, has either held any Rank or Estimation. But these Defects will be amply supplied
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by the Industry and Experience of a laborious Gentleman, who has long paced in the Trammels of the State, with no Ambition or Avarice to gratify. A Declaration the Public has heard repeatedly from himself. He neither

Ambitione mala, aut argenti pallet amore.

HOR.

But may the Dignity of the Crown, the Honour of his Majesty, the Glory of the Nation, and the important Acquisitions made during the late Ministry, be safe in their Hands ! Their Hands have been strengthened in every manner they could ask or wish ; and no Opposition has been made to them ; unless it is call'd Opposition, to endeavour to preserve the Confidence of our Allies once boundless, and to keep up the high Spirit of the Nation under the enormous, but necessary, Burthens of the War.

In

In no truly *British* Quarrel, but in the Cause of our Allies, the *Spanish* Marine was destroyed by Sir *George Byng*, in 1718, without any previous Declaration of War. We were not, in consequence of that Step, treated in *Europe* as an uncivilized Nation, spurning at all Laws, or as a Nest of Pirates; but the *Policy* and *Spirit* of the Measure was universally admired. As to the *Justice* of such a Proceeding, I determine nothing: I leave it to those *State Casuists* who seized the *French* Ships before a Declaration of War*. The Interest of *Great Britain* was not then immediately concerned, as in the present Case, but our Allies wished, and obtained, our vigorous and effectual Support. By that decisive Exertion of our Strength, the Contest between the two Nations, was in Effect finished almost as soon as begun. The impartial Public will

* Vid. *Memoire Historique*, No. 17. Art. 12.

judge for themselves, how great the Probability is, that the like Success had followed Measures equally spirited, *preceded by a Declaration of War, which in this Case had been founded on the clearest Principles of Justice and Equity.* I am at least certain no Man of Candour could have censured *England as accelerating precipitately a War **, long resolved by *Spain*, I must say, too long delayed by *England*. I rather fear *the Example of the Spirit of the late Measures †* will be thought to be already forgot ; and as those Measures were decried as too bold and daring, more feeble, more pusillanimous, less encouraging to our real Friends, less hostile to our Enemies, will be found to be adopted. In the present Case, *Lord Bristol* is ordered, so early as *July 28*, to come to categorical and satisfactory Declarations rela-

* Vid. *the Declaration of War against Spain*, Jan. 2, 1762.

† Vid. *Lord Egremont's Letter*, p. 23.

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tively to the final Intentions of Spain, Mr. Pitt's Letter, p. 3. to which Lord Bristol, on the Part of Spain, never returns either a CATEGORICAL or SATISFACTORY Answer. The ingenuous General Wall, through the whole Negociation, appears reserved and artful at least, not to say full of Duplicity. At last General Wall replied, He had no Orders to acquaint me with any Measures but what he had formerly communicated to me; and signified his not being at Liberty to say any more, Nov. 2. p. 27. All that I could, with Difficulty, extort from General Wall was, that his Catholic Majesty had judged it expedient to renew his FAMILY COMPACTS (those were the express Words) with the Most Christian King — Here the Spanish Minister stopt short, and, as if he had gone beyond what he intended, he said, that the Count de Fuentes, and M. Buffy, had declared to his Majesty's Ministers all that was MEANT to be

communicated to them, Nov. 2. p. 29. Can any thing be imagined more contemptuous, or more insolent? But what follows is excellent Spanish Humour, and the inimitable Hogarth could, from these few Lines, give us a most diverting Frontispiece to the Papers, if Administration did not seem resolved no more to employ Men of superior Parts and Genius. Lord Bristol says, I began to flatter myself I might obtain the categorical Answer, I was ordered to demand, without the Spanish Minister's suspecting my ultimate Orders. When I was going out of his Room, he took me by the Hand, and said, with a SMILE, he HOPED; but there he stopped. I asked him what he HOPED, that I might also HOPE, and that all might concur in the same HOPES: But his Excellency only then bowed, and took his Leave of me, p. 63. General Wall is too much of a Spaniard ever to laugh; but his Smiles are very significant.

cant. Lord *Bristol* declares, *M. Wall* ever acted in too ingenuous a Manner for me to suspect the least Duplicity in his Conduct, p. 19. Now was he ever ingenuous and frank enough to communicate to Lord *Bristol*, the least Article of the *Family Compact*, or did he ever hint that such a Thing was in Agitation? From the *Catholic King's* very particular Partiality towards Lord *Bristol*, p. 66. I suppose *M. Wall* was ordered to spare his Lordship the Concern so alarming a Treaty must have occasioned; and only, from time to time, to use the soothing Sounds of *Friendship, Honour, Cordiality, Affection, &c. &c.* to smile, to bow, to take him by the Hand, and to — hope. What? I know no more than the present Ministry.

Lord *Bristol* seems totally uninformed of so important an Affair as the *Family Compact*, till long after that Treaty was signed and ratified, and
only

only a few Days * before he is told of it from *England*. October 28, Lord *Egremont* writes to Lord *Bristol*: *His Majesty cannot imagine that the Court of Spain should think it unreasonable to desire a Communication of the Treaty ACKNOWLEDGED to have been lately concluded between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles*, p. 21. When was this *Acknowledgment* made? Surely *this* relates to the *Rupture* with *Spain*? Yet not a Line of this Intelligence is among the *Papers*.

By this Time, I think it must appear how much Lord *Bristol*, though possessed of real Talents, was deceived by the Court of *Spain*; a Court as insidious as that of *France*. Let me next remark, how dextrous the new Ministry here were in endeavouring to deceive themselves. In the Answer delivered to the Count *de Fuentes*, by the Earl of *Egremont*, Dec. 31, it is

* Vide his Letter of Nov. 2.

said,

said, *The Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, by a Dispatcb dated the 28th of October, was ordered to demand, in Terms the most measured, however, and the most amicable, a Communication of the Treaty recently concluded between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles, or, at least, of the Articles which might relate to the Interest of Great Britain—and—*

TO CONTENT HIMSELF WITH ASSURANCES, in case the Catholic King offered to give any, that the said Engagements did not contain any thing that was contrary to the Friendship which subsisted between the two Crowns, or that was prejudicial to the Interests of Great Britain, supposing that any Difficulty was made of shewing the Treaty, p. 48. The new Ministry are now got off from the true Ground, which was the Memorial of Spanish Affairs verbatim sent from Madrid, and the Letter of Lord Bristol's of August 31, with the Enclosures; and have confined their View

to

to the single Point of the late Treaty, or the *Family Compact*. Every Thing relative to the *final Intentions* of Spain, concerning which Lord *Bristol* is ordered, in Mr. *Pitt's* Letter, so early as July 28, to come to categorical and *satisfactory Declarations*; is omitted in this Demand, and Lord *Bristol* is ordered to confine himself to the new Treaty. This I agree with Lord *Egremont*, is certainly no *equivocal Proof of Dependance on the good Faith of the Catholic King*, in shewing him an *unbounded Confidence in so important an Affair*, p. 49: How merited, we have seen from what passed in the latter Months of the Negociation; and in all Probability should see more glaringly, if the whole Negociation, since the Accession of his present Catholic Majesty, were communicated to us. From that *unbounded Confidence* the new Ministry entirely lost Sight of the most offensive and hostile Matter in the Memorial

morial of July 23, and the Papers of August 31, attacking the Dignity of the Crown of England in a manner surely far more unbecoming and insolent than that *Spirit of Haughtiness and Discord*, which, says M. Wall, dictated that inconsiderate Step, and which, for the Misfortune of Mankind, still reigns so much in the British Government, which made in the same Instant the Declaration of War, and attacked the King of Spain's Dignity, p. 67. It is plain they were accommodating themselves at any rate tamely to become the Dupes to Spain; for all they desired, by the Dispatch of the 28th of October, was an Assurance of the Innocence of the Treaty in Question, p. 23. and they passed by every Thing else, though of the most hostile Tendency. Conscious of this, Lord Egremont, at the End of his Answer to the Conde de Fuentes, December 31, pleads guilty for himself and his Brother Ministers,

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to the Charge that may be exhibited against them of an intentionally facile and willing Credulity, when he says, *But fortunately the Terms in which the Declaration * (Fuentes's) is conceived, spare us the Regret of not having received it sooner ; for it appears, at first Sight, that the Answer is not at all conformable to the Demand. We wanted to be informed, if the Court of Spain intended to join the French, our Enemies, to make War on Great Britain ; or to depart from their Neutrality ? Whereas the Answer concerns one Treaty only, (all that was asked by the Dispatch of the 28th of October,) which is said to be of the 15th of August ; carefully avoiding to say the least Word that could explain, in any manner, the Intentions of Spain towards Great Britain, or the further Engage-*

** That the said Treaty is only a Convention between the Family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing that has the least Relation to the present War. Fuentes's Note delivered to Lord Egremont, Dec. 25. p. 46.*

ments

ments they may have contracted in the present Crisis. In the Dispatch indeed of Lord Egremont to Lord Bristol, of November 19, in Answer to Lord Bristol's Letter of November 2, p. 32, the new Ministry amend their own Question, and at last demand a PRECISE and CATEGORICAL ANSWER from the Court of Madrid, relative to their Intention with regard to Great Britain in this critical Coniuncture, which brought on the Rupture on the 10th of December, and is precisely what was directed by Mr. Pitt so early as July 28.

I cannot pass by that other Part of Lord Egremont's Answer delivered to the Count de Fuentes December 31, in which it is said, the Ambassador (of England) having addressed himself to the Minister of Spain for that Purpose, could only draw from him a Refusal, to give a satisfactory Answer to his Majesty's

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ty's JUST REQUISITIONS*, which he had accompanied with Terms that breathed nothing but Haughtiness, Animosity, and Menace, and which seemed so strongly to verify the Suspicions of the unamicable Disposition of the Court of Spain, p. 49, without observing that this cannot possibly be the real State of the Fact, (though his Lordship but a few Lines before says, he will confine himself to Facts, with the most scrupulous Exactness) for Lord Egremont receives no Answer from Lord Bristol

* The following Paragraph of Lord Bristol's Letter of Nov. 2, p. 25, demonstrates that these just Requisitions were not made in consequence of any Orders from the Court of England: Such strong Reports of an approaching Rupture between Great Britain and Spain, grounded upon several authentic Assurances I had received, that some Agreement had been settled and signed between their Catholic and Most Christian Majesties, DETERMINED ME to enquire minutely into this Affair.

* to

* to the Orders to make the just REQUISITIONS contained in his two Dispatches (of the 28th of October, and 19th of November,) till the 24th of

E 2

Decem-

* It is remarked in the Gazette of Madrid, published by Authority, in these Words : *And what is more singular, is, that they attribute the last Endeavour, which they ordered Lord Bristol to make, and which caused the Rupture, to the Language of Haughtiness, Animosity, and Menace, with which (according to them) our Court answered to the civil and amicable Demand that Minister made in Consequence (say they) of an Order of the 28th of October. Unfortunately for them, they have not considered that in an Interval from the 28th of October to the 1st or 2d of December, the Day upon which Lord Bristol's last Letter arrived, it is impossible an Express can come from London to Madrid, return to London with an Answer to his Dispatch, and go back to Madrid with the Reply.* Gazette de Amsterdam du Mardi 23 Février 1762. De Madrid le 2 Février 1762. Par le même courier, qui a apporté au Roi la nouvelle de la résolution prise à la cour Britannique de nous déclarer la guerre, le Comte de Fuentes a envoyé à S. M. un Mémoire remis à cet Ambassadeur avant son départ de Londres par le Comte d'Egremont,

December, a Fortnight after the Rupture, which happened on the 10th, p. 41, & 43, except what I will now state, which is far from containing the repeated and the most stinging Refusals to give the least Satisfaction, p. 50. Extract from Lord Bristol's Letter to the

gremont, Secrétaire d'Etat de S. M. Britannique, en réponse à la déclaration que le Comte de Fuentes lui avoit donné par écrit quelques jours auparavant. Ces deux pieces ont été insérées, par ordre de notre cour, dans la Gazette de Madrid, avec les observations suivantes sur le memoire delivre par le Comte d'Egremont. — *Et ce qu'il y a de plus singulier, c'est qu'ils attribuent la dernière tentative qu'on a fait faire au Lord Bristol, et qui a causé la rupture, au ton de hauteur, d'animosité, et de menace, avec lequel (selon eux) notre cour a répondu aux demandes honnêtes et amiables que ce Ministre fit en vertu (disent-ils) d'un ordre du 28 Octobre. Malheureusement pour eux, ils n'ont point fait attention que, dans un intervalle comme celui du 28 du dit mois au 1^{er} ou 2. de Decembre, jour auquel arriva le dernier courier du Lord Bristol, il est impossible qu'on exprès vienne de Londres à Madrid, retourne à Londres avec la réponse à sa dépêche, et revienne à Madrid avec la réplique.*

the Earl of Egremont, November 23, p. 37: *It will not be possible for me to re-dispatch a Messenger to England for several Days, notwithstanding my having had another long Conference with M. Wall, at which I entered minutely into every Argument suggested to me by your Lordship. Altho' I dare not flatter myself with having gained any Ground upon the Spanish Minister, yet I never before observed his Excellency listen with greater Attention to my Discourse, than at our late Meeting. When he answered me, it was without Warmth; when he applied to me, it was friendly; and, after long Reasonings, on both Sides, we parted with reciprocal Protestations to each other of our earnest Desire to continue in Peace. General Wall also promised me, to acquaint his Catholic Majesty circumstantially, with what had passed between us. I entreat your Lordship not to think me inconsequential in what I relate: It is my Duty to mention the Result of each In-*

terview with the Spanish Secretary of State. All I sent an Account of in my Letters of the 2d Instant, was literally what had happened at that Time; and the Change I have just hinted, when I last saw M. Wall, is equally certain.

I will observe but upon one Passage more, and that is from Lord Egremont's Dispatch of November 19, because when he is drove to the Necessity of defending the Proceedings of the present Ministry, he gives (what possibly was not his Object) the fullest Justification of Mr. Pitt. *As to the Assertion of that Minister (M. Wall)*

“ That his Catholic Majesty never
 “ could obtain an Answer from the
 “ British Ministry, to any Memorial
 “ or Paper that was sent from Spain,
 “ either by the Channel of the Count
 “ *de Fuentes*, or through your Hands,
*it would be a useless Condescension to appeal
 so repeatedly to those ample Materials in
 your Excellency's Possession, for the Con-*
futation

futation of a Proposition so notoriously groundless, that it scarce deserves a serious Answer. The Language M. Wallbeld, relative to the late Negotiation with France, as well as with regard to our Ambition and unbounded Thirst of Conquest, as it consists of mere abusive Assertion, without the least Shew of Argument, deserves nothing but plain Contradiction, p. 31.

Before I quit the *Papers*, it may be necessary to add, that I see nothing so alarming in the War with Spain, had it been entered into in Time, and were well conducted. I have read the Histories of both Nations, and am happy to agree with our Ministers, that *Experience has shewn, that when in Contradiction to the obvious Principles of our common Interests, that Harmony has been unhappily interrupted, Spain has always been the greatest Sufferer, p. 21.* Need I do more in Support of this Opinion, than mention the late War against the
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combined Forces of *France* and *Spain*, united before the *French* Marine was annihilated, as it now is, and at a Period, when the Navy of *England* had not reached its present Greatness, and irresistible Superiority?

The Evidence to be drawn from these imperfect and mutilated Papers, is now fully and fairly stated. I call them *imperfect* and *mutilated*, because they have their Commencement, only from the very Point, when the long Negotiation between *England* and *Spain* being become hopeless, the insolent Attempt was made by the two Branches of the House of *Bourbon*, then united, to force on his Majesty and the *English* Nation, the Concession of those inadmissible Terms, which *Spain* alone despaired of being able to compel us to *grant*. An Attempt of insidious Perfidy, which at once proved the particular Peace, betwixt *England* and *France* to be hopeless and impractic,

impracticable; for what Cessions to *France* could an *English* Administration be justified in making, while she declared herself eventually engaged to take part with *Spain* in a new War for *Spanish* Objects, totally inadmissible; from which Protest it doth not appear that either Court ever departed? The specious and false Appearances of Candour, which the Publication of *Papers* in such a State is meant to convey, are as easily seen thro' and detected, as they are unfair and ungenerous. A great deal of very important Intelligence, relative to the Point in Question, is plainly withheld. The Suspicions arising from the Suppression of Evidence are, no doubt, in the Opinion of Government, more tolerable than the Conviction founded upon full Proof. Even the Particulars of the *Negotiation with France* are still secreted from the Public, as far as it is in the Power of our Government ;
left,

lest, among other good Reasons, as it stands naturally connected with the *Spanish*, they might, if considered together, throw too striking a Light on the Whole. The infinite Importance of what is suppressed, I do not pretend to determine; but the *Papers* are evidently thus partially laid before the Public by Administration, to justify, if possible, their *Delay*; with what Success the Public will determine. As to the Wisdom of the *written Advice*, it stands already proved by the Event: but before we can enter fully into that Dispute (if there can be still a doubt) *all* the Materials, *all* the Evidence, both from *Papers* and *Facts*, on which *that Advice* was founded, ought, in common Justice, to be laid before the Public. From what we already know with Certainty, *even from these Papers*, as to *what Spain had already done*, not from *what that Court might further intend*

to

*to do **, I cannot but own my Surprise, that there should be a *Difference of Opinion with regard to Measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest Importance to the Honour of the Crown, and to the most essential National Interests**.

When I am told that only one noble Lord, and the late Secretary of State, of the most confidential Servants of the Crown, concurred in an Opinion so evident, so clearly deduced from such a Variety of Proofs, I cannot but imagine that there must have been some powerful Combination, some underhand Intrigues, among Ministers of more Denominations than one, to force the Resignation of the Right Hon. Gentleman. He must long have been looked upon with an unfriendly and jealous Eye by Ministers, to whom it is his Honour that he was so very unlike; and who, though real

* *Vide A Letter from a Right Hon. Person to*
 in the City.

Una-

Unanimity attended it in the Nation, could ill brook his possessing in so high a Degree, (what they never had the least Share of) the Confidence of a discerning and enlightened People. A Point of the utmost Consequence to every Ministry, in this Kingdom. The Glories of this Gentleman's Administration, (that is, while he *was allowed to guide * the Measures* of this Nation)

* If one Minister on *resigning the Seals* may not, in the true Spirit of the Constitution, say that he resigns, *in order not to remain responsible for Measures, which he was no longer allowed to guide* in his own Department, to the Execution of which he must set his Hand; what an Idea of Parliament and of the Constitution must another have entertained, who could, just before taking the Seals, write the following circular Letter, not yet *be-versed*, or *be-noted*?

“ S I R,

“ The King has declared his Intention to
 “ make me Secretary of State, and I (very un-
 “ worthy as I fear I am of such an Undertak-
 “ King)

Nation) and the Applauses of his grateful Country, have given him at least a due Portion of *Envy*, which is a certain Attendant on splendid Merit.

Sure Fate of all, beneath whose rising Ray,
Each Star of meaner Merit fades away !
Oppress'd we feel the Beam directly beat ;
Those Suns of Glory please not till they set.

POPE.

That only two Resignations have accompanied that of the late Secretary, is no Surprize to me.

*Je suis Anglois, je dois faire le bien
De mon pays, mais plus encore le mien,*
says *Voltaire*, who lived a good while in this Country, and seems to know it pretty well.

“ king) must take the Conduct of the House of Com-
“ mons. I cannot therefore well accept the Of-
“ fice till after the first Day's Debate, which
“ may be a warm one. A great Attendance
“ that Day of my Friends will be of the great-
“ est Consequence to my future Situation, and
“ I should be extremely happy, if you would,
“ for that Reason, shew yourself amongst them,
“ to the great Honour of, &c.”

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From

From these few and scanty Materials, so sparingly dealt out to the Public, I have endeavoured to give you all the Satisfaction in my Power. I could possibly have amused you more, but I have all along preferred the Desire of *informing* to that of *entertaining* you. Perhaps you had been better pleased, if I had deviated more, and had not confined myself so strictly to the Evidence of the *Papers*, and to *Fact*s which will not be denied.

To conclude, Let me add to Hopes not very sanguine, very sincere and very fervent Wishes: *May the most perfect Harmony, mutual Confidence, and Unanimity, which, Lord Egremont, October 28, says, p. 23, now Reign in his Majesty's Councils, for the sake of the Public, long continue! May the Expedition now sailed to the West-Indies prove, by Success, to have been timely in Preparation, adequate in Force, to the Object, whatever it may*

may be ! May our Army in *Germany**, (since it is still to continue there, tho' Mr. Pitt is retired,) and the Kings of *Prussia* and *Portugal* find that *Example* has indeed been taken of the *Spirit of the late Measures* *, p. 23. and that the *Measures of Government* will suffer no *Relaxation*, p. 22. from feeble, procrastinating, and undecided Counsels, founded in Weakness and Duplicity, and, to grace the Whole, may the best-disposed Prince, that has at any Time swayed the Sceptre of *Alfred*, never live to want a Minister as able, and successful as Mr. Pitt.

I am, &c.

* It is confidently asserted in Honour of the Secretary of State of the Northern Department, that *he likewise* did immediately on Mr. Pitt's Resignation give the strongest Assurances to the German Allies, that the Resignation of that Minister would not occasion the least Change in Measures, except only that they would be carried on with redoubled Vigour.

THE END.



A LETTER TO THE WORTHY
ELECTORS OF THE BO-
ROUGH OF AYLESBURY,
IN THE COUNTY OF
BUCKS.

By *JOHN WILKES*, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-
House, in Piccadilly.

M DCC LXVII.



A
L E T T E R

TO THE

ELECTORS OF AYLESBURY.

GENTLEMEN,

THE very honourable, unanimous, and repeated marks of esteem, you conferred on me, by committing to my trust your liberty, safety, property, and all those glorious privileges, which are your birth-right as *Englishmen*, entitle you to my warmest thanks and to the highest tribute of gratitude my heart can pay. Yet in the peculiar circumstances of my case, I think that I ought not at present to rest contented with thanking you. I have always found a true pleasure

fure in submitting to you my parliamentary conduct. It is now more particularly my duty, and when I reflect on the real importance and interesting nature of those great events, in which, as your representative, I have been more immediately concerned, I am exceedingly anxious not barely to justify myself, but to obtain the sanction of your approbation. It has ever been my ambition to approve myself worthy of the choice you have more than once made of me as your deputy to the great council of the nation, with an unanimity equally honourable and indearing. The consciousness of having faithfully discharged my trust, of having acted an upright and steady part in Parliament, as well as in the most arduous circumstances, makes me dare to hope, that you will continue to me what I most value, the good opinion and friendship of my worthy constituents.

Having

ONE

Having the happiness of being born in the country, where the name of *Vassal* is unknown, where *Magna Charta* is the inheritance of the subject, I have endeavoured to support and merit those privileges, to which my birth gave me the clearest right.

The various charges brought against me may be reduced to two heads. The one is of a public, the other of a private nature. The first is grounded on the political paper of the *North Briton*, No. 45: the other respects a small part of a ludicrous poem, which was stolen out of my house. The two Accusations are only so far connected, that I am convinced, there is not a man in *England*, who believes, that if the *first* had not appeared, the *second* would ever have been called in question.

The first charge is, that *The North Briton*, No 45, is a *false Libel*.

On my trial before Lord *Mansfield*,
the

the word *false* was omitted in the indictment.

The word *false* is not to be found among the various epithets applied to this paper in either of the warrants issued by Lord *Halifax*.

By the first warrant, under which I was apprehended, *The North Briton*, No. 45, was denominated a *treasonable* paper. In the second, by which I was committed to the *Tower*, that word too was omitted, so that the greatest enemies of this paper seem to give up its being either *false* or *treasonable*. . . . It is remarkable, that the epithet *traiterous* is given to *insurrection*, as the *supposed* consequence of a *supposed* libel; whereas the *Scots*, who appeared in open rebellion so lately as 1745, were, in the weekly writings against the *North Briton*, published under the patronage of the *Scottish* Minister, and *paid for by him out of the ————*, only termed *insur-*

furgents who defeated regular forces. Yet in fact, no *insurrection of any kind* ever did or could follow from this publication, even in those parts of the kingdom, so lately subjected to all the insolence and cruelty of the most despicable of our species, the mean petty *Exciseman*. This is the strongest case, which can possibly be put. The *Excise* is the most abhorred monster, which ever sprung from arbitrary power, and the new mode of it is spoken of through this paper as the greatest grievance on the subject; yet even in this case, obedience to the laws, and all *lawful authority*, is strictly enjoined, and no opposition, but what is consistent with the laws and the constitution, is allowed. The words are very *temperate, cautious, and well guarded*. “Every legal Attempt of a contrary tendency to the spirit of concord will be deemed a justifiable resistance, warranted by the spirit of the English constitution.”

constitution." Is this *withdrawing the people from their obedience to the Laws of the realm?* Is *resistance* recommended, but expressly only so far as it is strictly legal? Let the impartial public determine, whether this is the language of *sedition*, or can have the least tendency to excite *traiterous insurrections*.

The general charge that *the North Briton*, No. 45, is a *libel*, scarcely deserves an answer, because the term is vague, and still remains undefined by our law. Every man applies it to what he dislikes. A spirited *satire* will be deemed a *libel* by a *wicked minister*, and by a *corrupt judge*, who feel, or who dread the lash.
The North Briton did not suffer the public to be misled. He acknowledged no *privileged vehicle of fallacy*. He considered the *liberty of the press* as the bulwark of all our liberties, as instituted to open the eyes of the people; and
 he

he seems to have thought it the duty of a political writer to follow *truth* wherever it leads. In his behalf I would ask even Lord *Mansfield*, Can *TRUTH* be a *LIBEL*? Is it so in the *King's Bench*?

This unlucky paper is likewise said,

 and by the hirelings of the ministry it is always in private charged with *personal* disrespect to the King. It is however, most certain, that not a single word *personally* disrespectful to his Majesty is to be found in any part of it. On the contrary, the sovereign is mentioned not only in terms of decency, but with that regard and reverence, which is due from a good subject to a good King—a *Prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres—the personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands.* . . .

G

The

The author of that paper, so far from making any *personal* attack on his sovereign, has even vindicated him *personally* from some of the late measures, which were so severely censured by the judicious and unbiassed public.

He exclaims with an honest indignation, *What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, CONTRARY TO THE OPINION OF ROYALTY ITSELF, and sacrificed to the prejudices, and to the ignorance of a set of people, the most unfit from every consideration, to be consulted on a manner relative to the security of the House of Hanover?* . . The minister is indeed every where treated with the contempt and indignation he has merited, but he is ever carefully distinguished from the sovereign. Every kingdom in the world has, in its turn, found occasion to lament that princes of the best

best intentions have been deceived and misled by wicked and designing *ministers* and *favourites*. It has likewise, in most countries, been the fate of the new daring patriots, who have honestly endeavoured to *undeceive* their sovereign, to feel the heaviest marks of his displeasure. It is, however, I think rather wonderful *among us, even in these times*, that a paper which contains the most dutiful expressions of regard to his Majesty, should be treated with such unusual severity, and yet that so many other publications of the same date, full of the most deadly venom, should pass totally unregarded. Some of these papers contained the most opprobrious reflections on that true patron of liberty, the *late king*, whose memory is embalmed with the tears of *Englishmen*, while his ashes are rudely trampled upon by others, whom his godlike attribute of mercy

had pardoned the crime of unprovoked rebellion. Others were full of the most indecent abuse on our great protestant ally, the King of *Prussia*, on the near relation of his present Majesty, who has merited so highly of the nation by fixing the crown in the house of *Hanover* ; on the staunchest friends of freedom, the city of *London* ; and on the first characters among us. Yet all these papers have passed uncensured by ministers, secretaries, and by the two *Houses of Parliament*. . .

There only remains one other charge,

Under the *arbitrary Stuarts*, when our more than *Roman* senates dared to bring *truth* to the foot of the throne, and made the trembling tyrant obey her sacred voice, the nation was in love with parliaments, because they were the steady friends of liberty, and never met but in favour of the subject

subject to redress real grievances. . .

I have thus, Gentlemen, gone thro' all the objections made against this paper . . . the treatment I have experienced as the *supposed* author. . .

Orders were given by the deceased secretary of state, *to drag me out of my bed at midnight*. A good deal of humanity, and some share of timidity, prevented the execution of such—commands. I was made a prisoner in my own house by several of the king's messengers, who only produced a *general warrant*, issued without oath, neither 'naming nor describing me. I therefore refused to obey a warrant which I knew to be illegal. I was, however, by violence carried before the earls of *Egremont* and *Halifax*, who thought it worth their while to ask me a tolerable number of plain questions, to not one of which I thought it worth my while to give a plain answer. It is no small

satisfaction to me now to know, that I have not a friend in the world who wishes a single word *unsaid* by me in the critical moment of that examination. I informed their lordships of the orders actually given by the *Court of Common Pleas* for my *Habeas Corpus*, notwithstanding which I was committed to the *Tower*; the custody of me shifted into other hands, and that act for the liberty of the subject eluded. Altho' the offence of which I stood accused was undoubtedly *bailable*, yet for three days every person was refused admittance to me; and the governor was obliged to treat me in a manner very different from the great humanity of his nature, for he had received orders to consider me as a *close* prisoner. I rejoice that I can say, I am the only instance of such rigorous treatment since the accession of the mild house of *Brunswick*, although the *Tower* has twice been crowded

Crowded even with Rebels from the northern parts of the island; and therefore I shall continue to regret the policy

of conferring on *Scotsmen* ALL the governments of the few conquests not tamely given up by the *Scottish minister*; conquests won by the valour of the united forces of *England, Scotland and Ireland*. While I suffered this harsh confinement, my house in *Great George-street* was plundered, all my papers were seized, and some of a very nice and delicate nature, not bearing the most distant relation to the affairs of government, were divulged.

When I was brought before the *Common Pleas*, I pleaded the cause of *universal liberty*. It was not the cause of peers and gentlemen only, but of *all the midling and inferior class of people, who stand most in need of protection*, which, I observed was on that day
the

the great question before the court. I was discharged from imprisonment by the unanimous sentence of my judges, without giving any bail or security. On the first day of the meeting of the parliament, I humbly submitted my grievances to the *House of Commons*, as they were chosen to be the guardians of the liberties of the people against the despotism of ministers. I likewise voluntarily entered my appearance to the actions brought at law against me as soon as I knew the determination of the majority, that all the irregularities against me should be justified, and that no *privilege* should be allowed in my case, even as to the mode of proceeding, which was the most harsh the rancour of party could devise.

Plurima defunt.

I now

I now proceed to the other charge brought against me, which respects an idle poem, called, *An Essay on Woman*, and a few other detached verses. . If so much had not been said on this subject, I should be superior to entering upon any justification of myself, because I will always maintain the right of private opinion in its full extent, when it is not followed by giving any open public offence to any establishment, or indeed to any individual. The crime commences from thence, and the magistrate has a right to interpose, and even to punish outrageous and indecent attacks on what any community has decreed to be sacred, not only the rules of good breeding, but the laws of society are then infringed. In my own closet I had a right to examine, and even to try by the keen edge of ridicule any opinions I pleased. . If I have laughed pretty freely at the glaring absurdities of . . .
a creed,

a creed, which our great Tillotson wished the church of England was fairly rid of, it was in private I laughed. . . .

I gave, however, no offence to any one individual of the community. The fact is, that after the affair of the *North Briton*, . . . bribed one of my servants to steal a part of the *Essay on Women*, and the other pieces, out of my house. Not quite a fourth part of the volume had been printed at my own private press. The work had been discontinued for several months before I had the least knowledge of the theft. Of that fourth part only twelve copies were worked off; and I never gave one of those copies to any friend. In this infamous manner did — get possession of this new subject of accusation, and except in the case of *Algernon Sidney*, of this new species of crime; for a S—— only could make the refinement in tyranny of ransack-
ing

ing and robbing the recesses of closets and studies, in order to convert *private amusements into state crimes*. After the servant had been bribed to commit the theft in his master's house, the most abandoned man of the age,

was bribed to make a complaint that I had *published an infamous poem*, which no man there had ever seen. It was read before

excellent judges of wit and poetry,

The neat, prim, smirking chaplain of that babe of grace, that *gude cheeld* of the prudish Kirk of Scotland, the *was* highly offended at my having made an *Essay on Woman*. His nature could not forgive me that *ineffable crime*, and his *own conduct* did not afford me the shadow of an apology. In great wrath he drew his grey goose quill against me. The *pious peer* caught the alarm,

larm, and they both pour'd forth, most woeful lamentations, their tender hearts overwhelmed with *grief*, or as the *chaplain*, who held the pen, said, with *grief of griefs*. He proceeded to make very unfair extracts, and afterwards to *benote* them in the foulest manner. The most vile blasphemies were forged*, and published as

* “ A print, under which is engraved in the Greek language and character, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.” *Kidgell's Narrative*.

Answer. What Mr. Kidgell says relative to the Greek inscription, which he translates THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD, so fully demonstrates his ignorance of what is blasphemy, and how much he mistakes the thing, that though Mr. Wilkes has not thought it worth his while to take the least notice of it, yet I cannot omit shewing the reverend gentleman's total want of scholarship. He ought to have known, that the words ZOTHP KOΣMOY, which compose the Inscription, have no relation to christianity, and therefore the allusion is a blasphemy, and not of the Author of the *Essay on Woman*. That
Inscrip-

as part of a work which in reality contained but . . . a few portraits drawn warm from life, with the too high colouring of a youthful fancy, and two or three descriptions, perhaps too luscious, which though *nature* and *woman* might pardon, a Inscription was found upon an ancient PHALLUS, of a date of much more remote antiquity than the birth of Christ. The account of this antique may be seen at large in De la Chaussée's *Museum Romanum*, printed at Rome, in folio, in 1692, and by *his own permission*, dedicated to the Pope, who, I suppose, is a christian prince.

The late reverend learned Dr. Middleton, in that valuable work, entitled, *Germana quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta*, &c. has not scrupled to give the following short account of it:

“ Quod quidem illustrari quodammado videtur a
 “ symbolica quadam apud causæum priapi effigiæ,
 “ cui Galli Gallinacei caput crista ornatum, rostri
 “ tri vero loco, fascinum ingens datur : cujusque
 “ in basi litteris Græcis inscriptum legitur
 “ ZOTHP KOΣMOT. SERVATOR ORBIS. Quæ
 “ omnia vil doctus ita interpretatur : Gallum
 “ scilicet, avem soli sacram esse ; solemque generatricis
 “ facultatis præsidem ; pudendumque ides verile Gallinaceo
 “ capiti adjunctum denotare ; quod a conjunctis
 “ solis priapique viribus, animalium genus omne procreatum
 “ et conservatum sit, secundum physicum quoddam
 “ Aristotelis axioma, Homo hominem generat et sol.

H

Kidgel

Kidgel and a ——— could not fail to condemn.

I have now, gentlemen, gone thro' all the objections which have been made to my conduct in a *public* capacity. My enemies finding that I was invulnerable, where they pointed their most envenomed darts, afterwards attempted to assassinate my private character, and propagated an infinite variety of groundless calumnies against me. I have generally treated these with the contempt they deserved, from the certainty that all who knew me would know that I was incapable of the things laid to my charge. A few falsehoods, advanced with more boldness than the rest, I was at the pains to refute. The *Winchester* story in particular, because it respected Lord *Bute's* own son, and had been ushered to the public with the greatest parade, as well as with all the impudence of malice, and rage of party, I disproved

ved

ed so fully, that I am sure not the
 cast shadow of a doubt remained in
 any man's mind as to my entire inno-
 cence of that most illiberal charge.
 I have lived so long among you, gen-
 tlemen, that I will rest every thing
 respecting me as a private man to the
 testimony, which the experience of
 so many years authorizes you to give,
 well knowing, that true candour al-
 ways weighs in the same balance,
 faults and virtues. The shades in
 private life are darkened by an enemy,
 but scarcely seen by a friend. Besides,
 it is not given to every man to be as
pious as lord —, or as *chaste* in
 and out of the marriage bed, in all
 thought, word, and deed, as the —.

A few other particulars, gentlemen,
 deserve to be mentioned, that you
 may have before you the whole of
 my conduct in these interesting affairs.
 Immediately after the last fragrant
 breach of the laws, I thought it my

duty to the community to commence actions against all the persons guilty. I despised the meanness of attacking only agents and deputies. I endeavoured to bring to the jurisdiction of the law *the principals* —, *the two secretaries of State*. I blush for my country when I add, that though I have employed the ablest gentlemen of that profession, they have hitherto found it impossible even to force an appearance. Lord *Egremont* died—
 Lord *Halifax* lives,

The judicial proceeding at my suit, commenced at the beginning of *May* twelvemonth, and now in the end of *October* in the present year, his lordship has not entered any appearance,
 The *little offenders* indeed have not escaped. Several *honest juries* have marked them with ignominy, and their guilt has been followed with legal punishment. But what is of infinitely greater importance

tance to the nation, we have heard from the bench, that *general warrants are absolutely illegal*. Such a declaration is in the highest degree interesting to the subject.

When I reflect on these two most important determinations in favour of *Liberty*, the best cause and the noblest stake for which men can contend, I congratulate my free-born countrymen, and am full of gratitude that Heaven inspired me with a firmness and fortitude equal to the conduct of so arduous a business. . . . The goodness of the cause supported me, and I never lost sight of the great object which I had from the first in my view, the preservation of the rights and privileges of *Englishmen*. I glory in the name, and will never forget the duties resulting from it. Though I am driven into exile from my dear country, I shall never cease to love and reverence its constitution, while

it remains free. It will continue my first ambition to approve myself a faithful son of *England*; and I shall always be ready to give my life a willing sacrifice to my native country, and to what it holds most dear, the security of our invaluable liberties. While I live, I shall enjoy the satisfaction of thinking that I have not lived in vain; that the present age has borne the noblest testimony to me, and that my name will pass with honour to posterity, for the upright and disinterested part I have acted, and for my unwearied endeavours to *protect and secure the persons, houses, and papers of my fellow subjects from arbitrary visits and seizures.*

*I am, GENTLEMEN,
With much regard and affection,*

*Your most obliged,
And obedient humble servant,*

Paris, Oct. 22,
1764.

JOHN WILKES.

BOOKS Printed for J. ALMON, opposite
Burlington House, in Piccadilly.

In January next will be published,

VOLUME the FIRST, of

THE HISTORY of ENGLAND,
From the REVOLUTION, to the End
of the 4th year of K. GEORGE the Third.

By JOHN WILKES, Esq;

“ Nimum TARQUINOS regno affueſſe—non pla-
“ cere nomen, periculoſum LIBERTATI eſſe.

LIVY.

“ Ego hoc laboris præmium peto, uti me à con-
“ ſpectu malorum, quæ noſtra quatuor poenè
“ per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certè, dum
“ priſca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam, om-
“ nis expers curæ, quæ ſcribentis animum,
“ eſſi non ſectere à vero, ſolicitum, tamen ef-
“ ficere poſſit.” Ibid.

* * This Work will make three volumes in quarto. The firſt contains the reigns of King William and Queen Anne; and is compiled from a variety of intereſting Materials, which no other Hiſtorian has ſeen.

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nence;

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A LETTER TO HIS GRACE THE
DUKE OF GRAFTON, FIRST
COMMISSIONER OF HIS
MAJESTY'S TREASURY.

by
John Wilkes.

*Vacare culpâ magnum est solatium; præsertim cum
habeam duas res quibus me sustentem, optimarum
artium scientiam, et maximarum rerum gloriam,
quarum altera mihi vivo nunquam eripietur, altera
ne mortuo quidem.*

Cicero.

THE EIGHTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite *Burlington-House*,
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107314

Paris, Dec. 12. 1766.

MY LORD,

I AM not yet recovered from the astonishment, into which I was thrown by your grace's *verbal* message, in answer to my letter of the first of November. In a conversation I had with colonel *Fitzroy* at the hotel d'*Espagne*, he did me the honour of assuring me, that I should find his brother my real and sincere friend, extremely desirous to concur in doing me justice; that he was to tell me this from your grace, but that many interesting par-

A 2.

ticulars relative to me could not be communicated by letter, nor by the post. I fondly believed these obliging assurances, because on a variety of occasions your grace had testified a full approbation of my conduct, had thanked me in the most flattering terms, as the person the most useful to the common cause in which we were embarked, and had shown an uncommon zeal to serve a man who had suffered so much in the cause of liberty.

I returned to *England* with the gayest, and the most lively hopes. As soon as I arrived at London, I desired my excellent friend, Mr. *Fitzherbert*, to wait on your grace, with every profession of regard on my part, and the resolution I had taken of entirely sub-

mitting the mode of the application I should make to the throne for my pardon. I cannot express the anxiety, which your grace's answer gave me,, *Mr. Wilkes must write to lord Chatham..* I then begged Mr. *Fitzherbert* to state the reasons, which made it impossible for me to follow that advice, from every principle of honour, both public and private. I shewed too the impropriety of supplicating a fellow subject for mercy, the *prerogative* good Kings are the most jealous of, by far the brightest jewel in their crown,, and the attribute, by which they may the nearest approach to the Divinity..

I afterwards wrote the letter * to your grace, which I have seen in all

* *That Letter was as follows..*

My Lord,

IT is a very peculiar satisfaction I feel, on my

the public prints. I never received any other answer but a *verbal* message,

return to my native country, that a nobleman of your grace's superior talents, and inflexible integrity, is at the head of the most important department of state. I have been witness of the general applause, which has been given abroad, to the choice his majesty has made, and I am happy to find my own countrymen zealous and unanimous in every testimony of their approbation.

I hope, my Lord, that I may congratulate myself, as well as my country, on your grace's being placed in a station of so great power and importance. Though I have been cut off from the body of his majesty's subjects, by a cruel and unjust proscription, I have never entertained an idea inconsistent with the duty of a good subject. My heart still retains all its former warmth for the dignity of England, and the glory of its sovereign. I have not associated with the traitors to our liberties, nor made a single connection with any man who was dangerous, or even suspected by the friends of the protestant family on the throne. I now hope that the rigour of a long-unmerited exile is past, and that I may be allowed

*Mr. Wilkes must write to lord Chatbam:
I do nothing without lord Chatbam.*

to continue in the land and among the friends of liberty.

I wish, my lord, to owe this to the mercy of my prince. I entreat your grace to lay me with all humility at the king's feet, with the truest assurances, that I have never, in any moment of my life, swerved from the duty and allegiance I owe to my sovereign, and that I implore, and in every thing submit to, his majesty's clemency.

Your grace's noble manner of thinking, and the obligations I have formerly received, which are still fresh in my mind, will, I hope, give a full propriety to this address; and I am sure a heart, glowing with the sacred zeal of liberty, must have a favourable reception from the duke of G——. I flatter myself, that my conduct will justify your grace's interceding with a prince, who is distinguished by a compassionate tenderness and goodness to all his subjects.

*I am, with the truest respect, My Lord,
Your Grace's most obedient, and most humble
servant,* JOHN WILKES.

When I found that my pardon was to be bought with the sacrifice of my honour, I had the virtue not to hesitate. I spurned at the proposal, and left my dear native London with a heart full of grief, that my fairest hopes were blasted, of humiliation, that I had given an easy faith to the promises of a minister and a courtier, and of astonishment that a nobleman of parts and discernment could continue in an infatuation; from which the conduct of *lord Chatham* had recovered every other man in the nation. He was indeed long the favourite character of our countrymen. Every tongue was wanton in his praise: The whole people lavished on him their choicest favours, and endeavoured by the noblest means, by an unbounded

generosity and confidence, to have kept him virtuous. With what anguish were we at last undeceived! How much it cost us to give up a man, who had so long entirely kept possession of our hearts! How cruel was the struggle! But alas! how is he changed? how fallen? from what height fallen? His glorious sun is set, I believe never to rise again.

We long hoped, my lord, that public virtue was the *guide* of his actions, and the love of our country his ruling passion, but he has fully shewn *omnis vis virtusque in lingua sita est*. Our hearts glowed with gratitude for the important services he had done against the common enemy, and the voice of the nation hailed him

our deliverer; but private ambition was all the while skulking behind the shield of the patriot, and at length in an evil hour made him quit the scene of all his glory, the only place, in which he could be truly useful, for a retreat, where he knew it was impossible the confidence of the people could follow, but where he might in inglorious ease bear his **BLUSHING** *honours thick upon him.*

I might now, my lord, expostulate with your grace on a *verbal* message, and of such a nature, in answer to a letter couched in the most decent and respectful terms, coming too from a late member of the legislature. I might regret, that the largest proffers of friendship, and real service, could mean no more than two or three

words of cold advice, that I should apply to another. I might be tempted to think it a duty of office in the first lord of the treasury to have submitted to his majesty a petition relative to the exercise of the noblest act of regal power, which any constitution can give any sovereign. Surely, my lord, my application to the first commissioner of the treasury, who is always considered as the first minister in England, was the very proper application. As I had made no discovery of any new wonderful pill or drop, nor pretended to the secret of curing the gout or the tooth-ach, I never thought of soliciting *Lord Chatham for a privy seal*. His lordship's office was neither important, nor responsible. I will not however enlarge on this, but I shall desire your grace's permission fully to state what has happened to

me as a private gentleman relative to *lord Chatham*, because I would not leave a doubt concerning the propriety of my conduct, in a mind naturally so candid, and so capable of judging truly, as that of the *duke of Grafton*.

I believe that the flinty heart of L— C—— has known the sweets of private friendship, and the fine feelings of humanity, as little as even ————. They are both formed to be admired, not beloved. A proud, insolent, overbearing, ambitious man, is always full of the ideas of his own importance, and vainly imagines himself superior to the equality necessary among real friends, in all the moments of true enjoyment. Friendship is too pure a pleasure for a mind can-

kered with ambition, or the lust of power and grandeur. *Lord Chatbam* declared in parliament the strongest attachment to *lord Temple*, one of the greatest characters our country could ever boast, and said, *he would live and die with his noble brother*. He has received obligations of the first magnitude from that *noble brother*, yet what trace of gratitude or of friendship was ever found in any part of his conduct? And has he not now declared the most open variance, and even hostility? I have had as warm and express declarations of regard as could be made by this marble-hearted friend, and *Mr. Pitt* had no doubt his views in even feeding me with flattery from time to time; on occasions too where candour and indulgence were all I could claim. He

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may remember the compliments he paid me on two certain poems in the year 1754. If I were to take the declarations made by himself and the late *Mr. Potter à la lettre*, they were more charmed with those verses after the ninety-ninth reading than after the first; so that from this circumstance, as well as a few of his speeches in parliament, it seems to be likewise true of the first orator, or rather the first comedian, of our age, *non displicuisse illi. jocos, sed non contigisse.*

I will now submit to your grace, if there was not something peculiarly base and perfidious in *Mr. —*'s calling me a *blasphemer of my God* for those very verses, at a time when I was absent, and dangerously ill from an affair of honour. The charge too

he knew was false, for the whole ridicule of those two pieces was confined to certain mysteries, which formerly the *unplaced and unpensioned Mr. P--* did not think himself obliged even to affect to believe. He added another charge equally unjust, that I was the *libeller of my king*, though he was sensible that I never wrote a single line disrespectful to the sacred person of my sovereign, but had only attacked the despotism of his ministers, with the spirit becoming a good subject, and zealous friend of his country. The reason of this perfidy was plain. He was then beginning to pay homage to the *Scottish Idol*, and I was the most acceptable sacrifice he could offer at the shrine of BUTE. History scarcely gives so remarkable a change. He was a few years ago the mad,

seditionous tribune of the people, insulting his sovereign even in his capital city, now he is the abject, crouching deputy of the proud Scot, who he declared in parliament *wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom*; a most ridiculous character surely for a statesman, and the subject of a free kingdom, but the very proper composition for a *favourite*. Was it possible for me after this to write a suppliant letter to *L— Ch—*? I am the first to pronounce myself most unworthy of a pardon, if I could have obtained it on those terms.

Although I declare, my lord, that the conscious pride of virtue makes me look down with contempt on a man, who could be guilty of this baseness, who could in the lobby declare

that I must be supported, and in the house on the same day desert and revile me, yet I will on every occasion do justice to the minister. He has served the public in all those points, where the good of the nation coincided with his own private views; and in no other. I venerate the memory of the secretary, and I think it an honour to myself that I steadily supported in parliament an administration, the most successful we ever had, and which carried the glory of the nation to the highest pitch in every part of the world. He found his country almost in despair. He raised the noble spirit of England, and strained every nerve against our enemies. His plans, when in power, were always great, though in direct opposition to the declarations of his

whole life, when out of power. The invincible bravery of the British troops gave success even to the most rash, the most extravagant, the most desperate of his projects. He saw early the hostile intentions of Spain, and if the *written advice* had been followed, a very few weeks had then probably closed the last general war; although the merit of that *advice* was more the merit of his *noble brother*, than his own. After the omnipotence of lord Bute in 1761 had forced Mr. Pitt to retire from his majesty's councils, and the cause was declared by himself to be our conduct relative to Spain, I had the happiness of setting that affair in so clear and advantageous a light, that he expressed the most entire satisfaction, and particular obligations to my friendship. I do not however

make this a claim of merit to Mr. Pitt. It was my duty, from the peculiar advantages of information I then had.

The constitution of our country has no obligations to him. He has left it with all its beauties, and all its blemishes. He never once appeared in earnest about any question of liberty. He was the cause that in 1764 no point was gained for the public in the two great questions of GENERAL WARRANTS, and the SEIZURE OF PAPERS. The cursed remains of the court of Star-chamber, the enormous power of the attorney-general, the sole great judicial officer of the crown, who is *durante bene placito*, and not upon oath, who tramples on *grand juries*, and breaks down the first, the

foremost barriers of liberty, continued during his administration the same as before. Every grievance, which was not rooted out by the glorious revolution, and the latter struggles of our patriots, still subsists in full force, notwithstanding the absolute power he exercised for several years over every department of the state. But I have done with *L—C—*. I leave him to the poor consolation of a place, a pension, and a peerage, for which he has sold the confidence of a great nation. Pity shall find and weep over him.

I am now, my lord, once more driven from the *Romans*, to the gay, the polite *Athenians*, but I shall endeavour to convince your grace that I am not totally lost to my country

nor to myself, in this scene of elegant dissipation, and that I do not waste the time in unavailing complaints of my hard fate, and the ingratitude of those I have served with success, for I shall very soon beg to call the public attention to some points of national importance, and in the mean time I shall embrace this opportunity of doing myself justice against the calumnies, which a restless faction does not cease to propagate.

The affair of the GENERAL WARRANT, and the HABEAS CORPUS, is told very unfaithfully, and almost every particular, relative to my being made a prisoner, and sent to the Tower on the 30th of April 1763, has been injuriously misrepresented in several late publications. I shall there-

fore state the transactions of that memorable day, and I may appeal to the minutes taken at the time for the accuracy of this relation.

On my return from the city early in the morning, I met at the end of Great George-street one of the king's messengers. He told me that he had a *warrant* to apprehend me, which he must execute immediately, and that I must attend him to lord Halifax's. I desired to see the *warrant*. He said it was *against the authors, printers, and publishers of the North-Briton, No. 45*, and that his verbal orders were to arrest *Mr. Wilkes*. I told him the *warrant* did not respect me: I advised him to be very civil, and to use no violence in the street, for if he attempted force, I would put him to death

in the instant, but if he would come quietly to my house, I would convince him of the illegality of the *warrant*, and the injustice of the orders he had received. He chose to accompany me home, and then produced the *GENERAL WARRANT*. I declared that such a *warrant* was absolutely illegal and void in itself, that it was a ridiculous *warrant* against the whole English nation, and I asked why he would serve it on me, rather than on the lord chancellor, on either of the secretaries, on lord Bute, or lord Corke, my next door neighbour. The answer was, *I am to arrest Mr. Wilkes*. About an hour afterwards two other messengers arrived, and several of their assistants. They all endeavoured in vain to persuade me to accompany them to lord Halifax's. I had like-

wife many civil messages from his lordship to desire my attendance. My only answer was, that I had not the honour of visiting his lordship, and this first application was rather rude and ungentleman-like.

While some of the messengers and their assistants were with me, *Mr. Churchill* came into the room. I had heard that their *verbal* orders were likewise to apprehend him, but I suspected they did not know his person, and by presence of mind I had the happiness of saving my friend. As soon as *Mr. Churchill* entered the room, I accosted him, *Good morrow, Mr. Thomson. How does Mrs. Thomson do to-day? Does she dine in the country?* *Mr. Churchill* thanked me, said she then waited for him, that he only

came for a moment to ask me how I did, and almost directly took his leave. He went home immediately, secured all his papers, and retired into the country. The messengers could never get intelligence where he was. The following week he came to town, and was present both the days of hearing at the court of Common Pleas.

The whole morning passed in messages between lord Halifax and me. The business of the messengers being soon publickly known, several of my friends came to me on so extraordinary an event. I desired two or three of them to go to the court of COMMON PLEAS, to make affidavit of my being made a prisoner in my own house under an illegal *warrant*, and to demand a HABEAS CORPUS. The

chief Justice gave orders that it should issue immediately.

A constable came afterwards with several assistants to the messengers. I repeatedly insisted on their all leaving me, and declared I would not suffer any one of them to continue in the room against my consent, for I knew and would support the rights of an Englishman in the sanctuary of his own house. I was then threatened with immediate violence, and a regiment of the guards, if necessary. I soon found all resistance would be vain. The constable demanded my sword, and insisted on my immediately attending the messengers to lord Halifax's. I replied, that if they were not assassins, they should first give me their names in writing. They complied with

this, and thirteen set their hands to the paper. I then got into my own chair, and proceeded to lord Halifax's, guarded by the messengers and their assistants.

I was conducted into a great apartment fronting the park, where lord Halifax and lord Egremont, the two secretaries of state, were sitting at a table covered with paper, pens and ink. The under-secretaries stood near their lordships. Mr. Lovel Stanhope the law clerk, and Mr. Philip Carteret Webb, the solicitor of the treasury, were the only persons besides who attended. Lord Egremont received me with a supercilious, insolent air; lord Halifax with great politeness. I was desired to take the chair near their lordships, which I did. Lord

Halifax then began, *that he was really concerned that he had been necessitated to proceed in that manner against me, that it was exceedingly to be regretted that a gentleman of my rank and abilities could engage against his king and his majesty's government.* I replied, *that his lordship could not be more mistaken, for the king had not a subject more zealously attached to his person and government than myself, that I had all my life been a warm friend of the house of Brunswick, and the protestant succession, that while I made the truest professions of duty to the king, I was equally free to declare in the same moment, that I believed no prince had ever the misfortune of being served by such ignorant, insolent, and despotic ministers, of which my being there was a fresh, glaring proof, for I was brought before their lordships by*

force, under a GENERAL WARRANT, which named no body, in violation of the laws of my country, and of the privileges of parliament; that I beg'd both their lordships to remember my present declaration, that on the very first day of the ensuing session of parliament, I would stand up in my place and impeach them for the outrage they had committed in my person against the liberties of the people. Lord Halifax answered, that nothing had been done but by the advice of the best lawyers, and that it was now his duty to examine me. He had in his hand a long list of questions, regularly numbered. He began, Mr Wilkes do you know Mr. Kearsly? when did you see him? &c. &c. I replied, that I suspected there was a vain hope my answer would tend rather to what his lordship wished to know; that he seemed

to be lost in a dark, and intricate path, and really wanted much light to guide him thro' it, but that I could assure his lordship not a single ray should come from me. Lord Halifax returned to the charge, Mr Wilkes do you know Mr Kearsly? &c. &c. I said, that this was a curiosity on his lordship's part, which however laudable in the secretary, I did not find myself disposed to gratify, and that at the end of my examination all the quires of paper on their lordships' table should be as milk white as at the beginning. Lord Halifax then desired to remind me of my being their prisoner, and of their right to examine me. I answered, that I should imagine their lordships' time was too precious to be trifled away in that manner, that they might have seen before I would never say one word they desired to know, and

I added, *Indeed, my lords, I am not made of such slight, flimsy stuff; then, turning to lord Egremont, I said, could you employ tortures, I would never utter a word unbecoming my honour, or affecting the sacred confidence of any friend. God has given me firmness and fidelity. You trifle away your time most egregiously, my lords. Lord Halifax then advised me, to weigh well the consequences of my conduct, and the advantages to myself of a generous, frank confession, I lamented the prostitution of the word, GENEROUS, to what I should consider as an act of the utmost treachery, cowardice and wickedness. His lordship then asked me, if I chose to be prisoner in my own house, at the Tower, or in Newgate, for he was disposed to oblige me. I gave his lordship my thanks, but, I desired to remark, that*

I never received an obligation, but from a friend, that I demanded justice, and my immediate liberty, as an englishman, who had not offended the laws of his country; that as to the rest, it was beneath my attention, the odious idea of restraint was the same odious idea every where; that I would go where I pleased, and if I was restrained by a superior force, I must yield to the violence, but would never give colour to it by a shameful compromise; that every thing was indifferent to me in comparison of my honour and liberty; that I made my appeal to the laws; and had already by my friends applied to the COURT OF COMMON PLEAS for the HABEAS CORPUS, which the chief Justice had actually ordered to be issued, and that I hoped to owe my discharge solely to my innocence, and to the vigour of the law in a free

country. Lord Halifax then told me, that I should be sent to the Tower, where I should be treated in a manner suitable to my rank, and that he hoped the messengers had behaved well to me. I acknowledged that they had behaved with humanity, and even civility to me, notwithstanding the ruffian orders given them by his lordship's colleague. I then turned again to lord Egremont, and said, Your lordship's verbal orders were to drag me out of my bed at midnight. The first man, who had entered my bed chamber by force, I should have laid dead on the spot. Probably I should have fallen in the skirmish with the others. I thank God, not your lordship, that such a scene of blood has been avoided. Your lordship is very ready to issue orders, which you have neither courage to sign, nor I believe to justify.

No reply was made to this. The conversation dropped. Lord Halifax retired into another apartment. Lord Egremont continued fullen and silent about a quarter of an hour. I then made a few remarks on some capital pictures, which were in the room, and his lordship left me alone.

I was afterwards conducted into another apartment. I found there several of my friends, in argument with the most infamous of all the tools of that administration Mr. P—C———. He confirmed to me, that I was to be carried to the Tower, and *wished to know if I had any favours to ask.* I replied, *that I was used to confer, not to receive favours, that I was superior to the receiving any even from his Masters, that all I would say*

to him was, if my valet de chambre was allowed to attend me in the Tower, I should be shaved and have a clean shirt, if he was not, I should have a long beard, and dirty linnen. Mr. W— said, that orders would be given for his admission at the Tower. I complained of the shameful evasion of the *Habeas Corpus* in sending me to the Tower, though the orders of the *chief justice Pratt* were known. Mr W— made no reply to this. He came to visit me at the Tower in the beginning of my imprisonment, when I had not the permission to see any friend. I desired him almost at his first entrance to take his leave *for if I was not allowed to see those I loved, I would not see those I despised.*

While I continued in the Tower, I was pressed to offer bail in order to

regain my liberty, and two of the first nobility desired to be my securities in the sum of £. 100,000 each. I was exceedingly grateful for the offer, but would not accept it. I observed, that neither my health nor my spirits were affected, that I would by great temperance and abstinence endeavour to compensate the want of air and exercise, but if my health suffered in a dangerous way, I would then accept such generous offers, for I hoped to live that so noble a cause might be brought to a glorious issue for the liberties of my country. From the beginning of this arduous business, I would not on any occasion give bail, by which I never involved any friend, and remained the perfect master of my own conduct.

I shall now, my lord, proceed to do myself justice against a calumny of ~~the~~ ~~the~~, a person of the meanest natural parts, and infinitely beneath all regard, except from the ~~the~~ he bears, with the utmost discredit to himself, with equal disgrace and insufficiency to the public. I find the ~~the~~ acquainted, that ~~the~~, upon Tuesday last, received a letter by the general post from Mr. W~~the~~, dated Paris the 11th instant, inclosing a paper in the French Language, purporting to be a Certificate of one of the French king's physicians, and of a surgeon of the said king's army, relating to the state of Mr. Wilkes's health, subscribed with two names, but not authenticated before a notary public, nor the signature thereof veri-

fied in any manner whatsoever. Then follow the *letter* and *certificate*. The insinuation is too plain to be overlooked. The signature was verified by my letter. It is certain that the certificate was in all the usual forms; yet tho' the affair was determined with respect to me, and I was expelled the ——— on the same day, without any time being allowed for other proof, a regard to truth, and my own honour, made me give the most compleat answer to this. I sent a second certificate in the form they had prescribed themselves, attested by two notaries, and confirmed by the English E———. I wrote likewise again to ——— on the 5th of February following, but neither the second letter, certificate, or attestation, is to be found in the ———. I have, how-

ever, my lord, taken care that they should be published, for in a free government like ours, I will endeavour through my life to emulate the spirit of ancient Rome, *provoco ad populum*; and while the people do not condemn me, I shall, perhaps in this, most certainly in every succeeding age, rise superior to any party cabal, or court faction. This step covered my enemies with confusion, but was of no farther service to me. The party war against me ceased of course in ———, but flamed with equal fury in ———.

By the ———, page 723, I find that I am *guilty of writing and publishing the paper, intituled "The North-Briton, No. 45,"* and that several witnesses were examined. There is not however in the ——— a

single word of the evidence they gave, and it is well known that not one of them did, or could say any thing relative to the *authorship*. The evidence of the publication was exceeding slight, but the willingness of the j— made ample amends for the deficiency of the witnesses, who were not upon oath. The administration did not chuse to risk either of these charges against me even in the court of Kings-Bench, and I was only tried for a *re-publication*. I will never blush at the imputation of being the *author* of that paper, because I know that truth is respected in every line. One circumstance will soon fully appear to the indignant public; I mean the large debt on the civil list, contracted chiefly by the scandalous purchase of a ————— approbation of the

late ignominious *peace*, the arbitrary *excise*, and other ruinous measures of the *Scottish* minister. But I leave the affair of the *civil list* to a future exact discussion.

The last calumny, my lord, which I shall disprove, respects the actions at law against lord Halifax. It is said that I have neglected, or purposely discontinued them, since my exile. The imputation is totally groundless. I was so ill at Paris in the beginning of the year 1764, that it was impossible for me then to return to England alive, but I gave the most express orders that the law proceedings should be carried on with vigour, and in fact there was not a moment's delay. When my wound began to heal in the spring, I was dissuaded

by all my friends from returning to a country, where the same administration, which had illegally seized my person, plundered my house, and corrupted the fidelity of my servants, were still in full power. I yielded to these reasons, because *propter eorum scelus, nihil mihi intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum viderem*. Lord Halifax for near two years availed himself of every advantage, which privilege and the chicane of law could furnish. He never entered any appearance to a court of justice, and the Common Pleas had, as far as they could, punished such an open contempt, such a daring proof that *Administration* would not submit to the *law of the land*, and had endeavoured to compel his lordship to appear. Towards the end of 1764 I

was *outlaw'd*. The proceedings continued against his lordship till that hour. He then appeared, and his single plea was, that as an *outlaw*, I could not hold any action. No other defence was made against the heinous charge of having in my person violated the rights of the people.

I felt this, my lord, as the most cruel stroke, which fortune had given me. Justice had at length overtaken many of the inferior criminals, but my *out-lawry* prevented my punishing, the great, the capital offender, when after all his subterfuges, he was almost within my reach. I please myself however with the reflection that no minister has since dared to issue a GENERAL WARRANT, nor to sign an order for the SEIZURE OF

PAPERS. In the one the personal liberty of every subject is immediately concerned. On the other may depend not only his own safety and property, but what will come still more home to a man of honour, the security, the happiness of those, with whom he is most intimately connected, their fortunes, their future views, perhaps secrets, the discovery of which would drive the coldest stoic to despair, their very existence possibly, all that is important in the public walk of life, all that is dear and sacred in friendship and in love. I was the *last* oppressed, but I was the *first* man, who had the courage to carry through a just resistance to these acts of despotism. Now the opinions of our sovereign courts of justice are known and established. I rejoice that several

others, who suffered before me, have since made their appeal to the laws, and obtained redress. I hope the iron rod of ministerial oppression is at length broken, and that I am the last victim of violence and cruelty. I shall not then regret all the sacrifices I have made, and my mind shall feast itself with the recollection in the unjust exile I am doom'd to suffer from my friends and my native land.

I will now, my lord, only add, however unfashionable such a declaration may be, that consistency shall never depart from my character, that to the last moment I will preserve the same fixed and unconquerable hatred to the enemies of freedom and the constitution of our happy island, the same warm attachment to the

friends and the cause of liberty, that I keep a steady and a longing eye on England, that my endeavours for the good and service of my country, by every method left me, shall have a period only with my life, and that although I do not mean to lay any future claim to your grace's favour, I will take care to secure your esteem.

I am,

My lord,

Your grace's most obedient,

and very humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

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